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East Europe Report

POLITICAL, SOCIOLOGICAL AND MILITARY AFFAIRS

No. 1805

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BRIEFS

ROHLICEK RECEIVES SOVIET OFFICIAL--CSSR Deputy Premier Rudolf Rohlicek received in Prague on 30 June Mikhail Sergeychik, first deputy chairman of the USSR State Committee for Economic Relations with Foreign Couutries. They assessed issues pertaining to the further development of the CSSR-Soviet economic and scientific-technical cooperation. [Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 1 Jul 80 p 2]

HUNGARIAN OFFICIAL VISITS--Janos Brutyo, chairman of the MSZMP Central Control Committee, paid a friendly visit to the CSSR on 28-30 June at the invitation of the CPCZ Central Committee. After his arrival in Bratislava, Brutyo met with M. Capka, the chairman of the CPCZ Central Control and Auditing Commission [UKRK], with whom he discussed topical questions concerning the building of an advanced socialist society in their two countries. In the further course of his visit, Brutyo met with leading officials of the Slovak Communist Party's UKRK, with whom he exchanged experience gained from raising the effectiveness of party control and improving the quality of party work. At the close of his visit, Brutyo was received by M. Hruskovic, CPCZ Central Committee Presidium candidate member and secretary of the Slovak Communist Party Central Committee. [Bratislava PRAVDA in Slovak 1 Jul 80 p 1]

CEMA APPOINTMENT--The president of the Socialist Republic of Romania decrees that Comrade Grigore Bargaoanu is appointed deputy permanent representative of the Socialist Republic of Romania to the Council for Mutual Economic Assistance, with headquarters in Moscow, with the rank of deputy minister. [Excerpts] [Bucharest BULETINUL OFICIAL in Romanian Part I, No 50, 21 Jun 80 p 3]

ALBANIAN ENSEMBLE FROM MACEDONIA--Tirana, 30 Jun (ATA)--The "Isuf Myzyri" amateur artistic ensemble of the house of culture and people's creativeness of Elbasan, led by the man in charge of the section of education and culture at the executive committee of the district people's council Sulo Dedej, returned from Macedonia. The ensemble made a tour of performances of the Socialist Republic of Macedonia upon the invitation of the "Xheladin Zeqiri" cultural artistic society of Tetova. During this tour the ensemble successfully gave 11 concerts in 8 cities, which were attended by thousands of spectators. The ensemble gave its last performance in Dibra City, where it was extended a warm and fraternal reception. [Text] [Tirana ATA in English 0900 GMT 30 Jun 80 AU]

PRISTINA GROUP LEAVES ALBANIA--Tirana, 30 Jun (ATA)--The ballet troupe of Pristina Ragional People's Theater, led by the vice-chairwoman of the Assembly of the Autonomous Socialist Region of Kosovo, Drita Dobroshi, which made a tour of performances on the invitation of the opera and ballet theater left Korca for Kosovo. During this tour the Kosovo artists performed the ballet "Halili and Hajria", which was welcomed and applauded for the good artistic level of interpretation. Present to see the troupe off were the vice-chairman of the culture and arts committee of the People's Socialist Republic of Albania, Kristo Jorgji, the vice-chairman of the executive committee of Korca District People's Council, Bajram Shtylla, the director of the opera and ballet theater, Xhemil Simixhiu and other comrades. The newspapers have devoted various materials to the performances given by the ballet troupe of the Pristina Regional People's Theater. The article of the newspaper BASHKIMI published today is entitled: "Fervent applause for a merited success." [Text] [Tirana ATA in English 0900 GMT 30 Jun 80 AU]

CSO: 2020

SHORTCOMINGS IN TEACHING OF LITERARY LANGUAGE

Tirana ZERI I POPULIT in Albanian 29 May 80 p 3

[Article by Emil Lafe and Zalo Buba: "A Uniform Literary Language and Some Responsibilities of the Schools"]

[Text] The literary language is a powerful means of spreading knowledge and culture in our socialist society, it is a weapon in the work and daily struggle of the working masses for the construction of socialism. Therefore, our society shows an ever increasing interest in a stronger assimilation of the literary language in the schools.

While implementing the recommendations of the party and Comrade Enver Hoxha, our schools have begun important and certain steps to raise the qualitative level of the teaching of the literary language in general. The creative thought of the educators has been revitalized; their feelings of responsibility and the demands on themselves and their students have increased; the school programs have improved more and more; the schools have been supplied with new textbooks which present in a more complete form and on a sounder scientific base the system of the contemporary literary language which is penetrated completely by the ideological axle of the Marxist-Leninist philosophy. In the last few years the teaching of language has spread to the middle schools, to the teaching faculty of the university and to the military schools of higher education; suitable texts and programs were drafted within a short period of time for this purpose.

The problem of working with language in the schools is broader than it is usually understood to be. It involves the whole process of teaching in the schools. Literary language is learned by the students in all the subjects. All knowledge and every science is expressed and explained through the medium of language. In this manner, the new generation, in the course of the school years, learns hundreds of scientific terms and the terms for different subjects. They learn "the language" of mathematics, physics, of chemistry and biology, of history and geography; they learn technical terms and the terms used in physical education, and so on.

Every educational subject in school equips the students with new knowledge and expressions and all the pedagogical staff of the school, from the language and literature teachers to the teachers of practical subjects and physical education, are a teaching collective of literary language for all students, because the language learning process means the development of speech. Therefore, it is the daily duty of every educator to require that every student understand and use correctly new words, new terms and expressions which are found in textbooks.

Certainly in the all encompassing work of the school as the fountainhead from which the new generation acquires, in an organized manner, a complete knowledge of the mother tongue, language teaching takes a prominent position.

From our observations in many schools and from the ideas that have been expressed to us by different language and literature teachers, we shall discuss in this article some of the problems of teaching the literary language, especially to those in the higher grades of the 8-year schools (classes V-VIII). As we know, in these classes the student acquires a complete knowledge of the system of the literary language: phonetics, lexicology, morphology, word formation and syntax. This knowledge is the base of a student's linguistic style. Therefore, the sound adoption of the language program is one of the most important duties for the higher grades of the 8-year schools. This requires, first of all, that the teachers of this subject have the necessary scientific and methodical training; they must sharpen their abilities to observe and follow the development of the language and to continually study the new scientific discoveries in the field of our literary language and in the development of the language itself.

The general level of the professional preparation of our language and reading teachers today must be higher. There are many teachers who have not kept up with the knowledge they acquired at the university; as a result they are uncomfortable when working with the new textbooks, which they often inoculate with their own conceptions, thus artificially creating difficulties for the students. In the middle schools the teachers have been, for many years, indifferent to teaching the language properly, because when analyzing literary pieces and correcting literary drafts they have not given the written language the necessary attention. Therefore, in many areas of the program they feel unsure of themselves now. There are instances when the Albanian language teachers themselves use dialectical or erroneous forms, in contradiction to the forms contained in the language books. So far now the training courses for educators, which are organized every year (for those that have 5, 10 and 20 years of service), have not given the desired results. In this way, every teacher takes a training course twice during the first 10 years of his service and then again after 10 years. Appropriately, we have a duty to find more suitable forms of training, related more closely to the educational process. It is necessary to have a continuous training process,

especially one that will replace the deficiencies and the vacuum which are evident in some schools. All the possibilities exist to better organize this work. Today, in our country there are many cadres that are prepared in the area of linguistics who can meet completely the qualifications needed by educators. Even in Tirana, where the Institute of Linguistics and Literature and the faculties of history and philology are located, rarely are lectures given by the scientific workers and professors of these institutions on the training of teachers.

Regardless of their importance, training courses must not be overestimated. Without the daily work of the educator to fill the vacuum and to increase knowledge, no training course can be successful. It is the duty of the educational sections, the pedagogical departments and the school superintendents to monitor very closely the work of the language teacher: his interest and preparation. It is inadmissable that many language teachers do not use in their work such necessary books as: "The Correct Written Albanian Language" and "Dictionary for the Written Language," which should be known to and used by teachers of other subjects as well as the students in middle schools.

The language teachers hardly know "Phonetics and Grammar of the Present-day Literary Albanian Language," published by the Academy of Sciences; they are hardly acquainted with "Literary Language for All" and the compendiums of language material compiled by the Institute of Linguistics and Literature are not read very much, nor is the review STUDIME FILOLOGJIKE ("Philological Studies") and the bulletin "Language and Literature in the School," which we think should be published more regularly and with more copies, in order to respond better to the needs of the schools.

Teaching the literary language at schools has two purposes: on the one hand it gives the students scientific bases for learning a language; it teaches them to recognize the structure of the language "organism"; on the other hand it teaches them the literary standards of the day: it gives them the capacity to distinguish between that which is standard and regular from that which is dialectal or erroneous. For example, the student should be in a position to distinguish between: shkrova, shkruajta, shkrojta [wrote], or shova, shuajta, shojta [extinguished], which are all different forms of the simple past of the verbs to write and to extinguish, but the student must be aware that only the forms of shkrova and shova are the correct forms and the others should not be used in the literary language.

It is obvious how important it is for the teacher to keep in mind dialectal influences on the student's language when he is planning his language lesson. While teaching language the teacher cannot work in the same way in Korce as he does in Shkoder; in Myzeqe as he does in Diber; in Tirana as he does in Sarande. This should be kept in mind especially when teaching in the village where the dialectal influences are stronger. In the village schools there are dozens of teachers who are prepared;

who work with love and pride, however, little is written about their achievements and experiences.

A marked weakness of teaching the literary language at the 8-year school level is the insufficient work the teachers do, according to the present norms, concerning the writing assignments of the students. Writing assignments are the best indicators of the degree of assimilation of the subject. It is here that one can see how the students are implementing what they have learned in theory; what weaknesses and deficiencies they have in their writing; which things should be evaluated in class and which individually with the student. Therefore, it is necessary to demand more opportunities for more frequent writing assignments in order to better evaluate the students according to their work.

Today, in teaching language in the school accurate writing and grammar predominate. Insufficient and superficial work is being done on Albanian writing. In language books and reading books very little reference is made to the use of dictionaries; thus, students have a limited knowledge of the wealth of a dictionary; they have difficulties in finding words that have the same or similar meanings (synonyms), and words that have opposite meanings (antonyms); they also have difficulties in finding the different meanings for words with many meanings. Little is done to analyze the stylistic value of words. Publication, in the near future, of a new explanatory dictionary of the Albanian language, with more than 40,000 words, will give the teachers the opportunity to discover, before their pupils, the richness and beauty of our language.

Today, more and more, we feel the need for a dictionary that is suitable for the requirements of the schools, which could be used to great advantage by middle school students, and students in the 8-year higher education classes. Such a dictionary, illustrated, could serve as a small encyclopedia of the different sciences, and of the Albanian world. It would be a useful tool for every family in our country.

In language, as in every other subject, the textbook plays an important role. The scientific level of our language books has continued to increase; however, there have been occasions when their methodical and didactical content has not improved. They contain weighty themes, difficult to assimilate especially in the textbooks for classes V and VI. In the exposition of the subject, better use could be made of charts, sketches, color and other graphic aids for the better retention of the subject matter.

Textbooks should be written keeping in mind the psychological characteristics of each age group; developing further the visual acuity of children.

In our schools, laboratories for numerous subjects have been built and equipped with the necessary aids to make teaching more realistic. However, the lack of laboratories and equipment of this kind in the language teaching

area is strongly felt. Many teachers, by their own efforts, have done commendable work in creating their own teaching aids for special themes. Their experience is a sound base on which to build a complete system of language teaching aids for the 8-year schools, and to equip all the other schools.

It is well known that in forming the student's linguistic background other factors have to be considered besides the influences of the school, such as: children's publications, radio, television, the cinema and the theater. While books and magazines, in general, are well written, radio, television, the cinema and the theater have quite a few language errors. Speakers on the radio and television, with rare exception, do not follow the rules of good speech; the actors in the cinema and the theater have not lost their dialectal influences; the managers of children's broadcasts have not completely mastered the literary norms. The mass means of communications which exist in our country today, play an important role in spreading the literary norms among the masses, especially among the children who have an enormous capacity to observe and imitate. Therefore, the complete implementation of the literary norms by these institutions is not a purely administrative problem, but also an acute social problem with a wide range of activity in shaping the linguistic capabilities of the younger generation and in spreading the language culture among the masses.

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CSO: 2100

BRIEFS

CSSR-VIETNAMESE COOPERATION DISCUSSED--Karel Loebl, Czech minister without portofolio, and Doan Phuong, chairman of the Vietnamese subcommission for CSSR-Vietnamese Scientific-Technical cooperation and first deputy chairman of the SRV State Science and Technology Committee, discussed scientific-technical cooperation in Prague on 27 June. Nguyen Tien Thong, SRV ambassador to the CSSR, also attended the discussion. [Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 28 Jun 80 p 2]

LER RETURNS FROM CUBA--A Czechoslovak delegation led by Finance Minister Leopold Ler returned from Cuba on 30 June. The delegation attended in Havana a session of the CEMA Standing Commission for Foreign Currency and Financial Questions which assessed some topical issues pertaining to foreign currency and financial problems concerning the further development of economic cooperation among the CEMA countries. [AU021553 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 1 Jul 80 p 2]

DELEGATION TO MONGOLIA--A delegation of the Czechoslovak Society for International Relations [CSMS] led by Jozef Kopca, chairman of the CSMS Committee of Czechoslovak-Mongolian Friendship and deputy minister-head of a department of the Government Presidium Office, left for Mongolia on 30 June at the invitation of the Federation of Mongolian Peace and Friendship Organizations. The objective of the visit is to conclude a new agreement on cooperation between the two organizations for the 1981-85 period. [AU021553 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 1 Jul 80 p 2]

CSO: 2020

GREATER DIFFERENTIATION URGED IN SENTENCING OF YOUNG CRIMINALS

West German Commentary

West ZWF-TAGESDIENST in German No 65, 28 Apr 80 p 2

[Report from Berlin: "More Differentiated Sentencing of Juvenile Criminals Demanded." A translation of the East Berlin NEUE JUSTIZ article cited below follows this commentary]

[Text] The East-Berlin periodical NEUE JUSTIZ (No 4/80) has argued for a more differentiated judging and sentencing of juvenile offenders by the courts of the GDR. It says that not a few crimes by juveniles result from conflicts which have not developed from fundamentally rigidified negative attitudes. Therefore in each individual case it is necessary to determine on a differentiated and individual basis, and to distinguish in the assessment of the criminal personality, from what conflict a crime has arisen, whether socially negative attitudes among juvenile offenders perhaps have gained the upper hand only temporarily, and to what extent negative environmental influences have been conducive to the decision to commit the crime. Outwardly similar events can have very different foundations in terms of their social ideological quality, and consequently they must be judged very differently.

GDR Legal Experts' Discussion

East Berlin NEUE JUSTIZ in German Vol 34 No 4, Apr 80 pp 159-161

[Article by Dr Irmgard Buchholz, chief assistant, and Dr Martin Hirschfelder, researcher, Department of Jurisprudence, Humboldt University, East Berlin: "On Determining the Guilt of Juvenile Criminals." Translations of excerpts from Guenter Sarge's article cited in footnote 1 below are published under the heading, "Responsibilities of Courts in Prevention, Control of Juvenile Crime," in JPRS 73349, 1 May 79, No 1674 of this series, pp 25-30. For translations of additional related information see items indicated in the following JPRS issues of this series: Problems involving juvenile crime, 71205, 30 May 78, No 1540, pp 29-36 and 71084, 5 May 78, No 1531, pp 122-130; "Duties of

Public Prosecutor's Office in Preventing Juvenile Delinquency Detailed," 68716, 3 Mar 77; public prosecutor's functions discussed by Dr Harri Harrland, GDR deputy prosecutor general, 69621, 17 Aug 77, No 1433, pp 28-35; application of criminal law discussed by Dr Josef Streit, GDR prosecutor general, 70330, 14 Dec 77, No 1485, pp 33-43; differentiation in punishment of recidivists, 70769, 13 Mar 78, No 1511, pp 48-57; rights of persons in criminal proceedings, 71015, 26 Apr 78, No 1527, pp 57-66; West German commentary on GDR criminal justice system, 69746, 7 Sep 77, pp 41-44]

[Text] Determining the occasions for and conditional factors in the crime--including in this the relevant motives and attitudes--helps in legally judging the act in a correct way, in evaluating its socially negative quality and its gravity correctly, and thus also--although we cannot go into this here--in delivering a verdict on the measures rightly in line with this and in accord with the criminal liability involved. The plenum of the Supreme Court has pointed out once again in this connection "that the courts bear a great responsibility in the prevention of juvenile delinquency. An essential prerequisite for effective prevention is to discover the occasions and conditional factors of offenses commited by young people, as well as to introduce measures for overcoming them."[1] Therefore in judging criminal action by juveniles, it is also always a matter of juridically assessing circumscribed real social circumstances, aimed at the question of whether and to what extent the occasions and conditions of the specific crime have had an influence on the irresponsible decision and thus on the degree of guilt (see Section 5, Paragraph 2 of the Penal Code).

Therefore one should always take into consideration also the concrete state of personality development of the particular juvenile offender, which depends on diverse social and individual factors (level of education, past entrustment of tasks and duties, special possibilities for development, and so forth) and which is quite variable from one individual to another.

Consideration of Objective Influences on the Decision To Commit a Crime

In connection with establishing the degree of guilt, the consideration of the occasions and conditions of the crime makes allowance for the fact that although in general human action is objectively determined, at the same time the committing of a crime is also always the result above all of the personal decision of the offender in a concrete act situation, through which he has ignored in an irresponsible way the opportunity given to him as well to act in a socially appropriate way.[2] Thus an offense--among young people as well--is not merely to be viewed as the consequence of the influence of external occasions and conditions. Rather, it should always be understood to be the result of a subjective assimilation by the offender of the objective influences, of the external conditions, of the social environment, of the educational

circumstances--an assimilation which is not appropriate to the social requirements. In this connection, we distinguish between the objective influences on the development of the personality (often also referred to as the living situation) and the current external influences at the time of the crime--the so-called act situation. With this as our basis, occasions and conditions are of interest to us in establishing criminal liability always only to the extent that they were subjectively assimilated, and the extent that the individual criminal was able to do this in the correct way or the extent that this was difficult for him to do. The juridical standards of assessment for judging the extent of guilt are given to us by the criminal law, which expressly takes into consideration particular external or internal conditions as mitigating or precluding guilt (see, for example, Sections 15 and 14 of the Penal Code) and which also stipulates that attention should be paid to the personal level of development of the juvenile concerned (Section 65, Paragraph 3, Penal Code).

Thus, in determining the occasions and conditions of the criminal act for purposes of establishing guilt, it is a question of identifying the particular imputable deed and a question of the proportion of self-determination which must be answered for in the decision to commit the crime, in conjunction with the influence of external determinants which were conducive to the particular decision to commit the crime--although they do not preclude guilt (assuming the existence of a capacity for culpability).

First it is important to establish the external conditions relative to the deed and the time it is committed. This knowledge makes it possible to assess what objective alternative actions were discerned at all by the delinquent. Of significance to the judgment of the guilt of the juvenile offender is the question as to whether the concrete decision to commit the act arose more or less spontaneously--that is, from out of a situation which had an immediate effect--or arose in connection with a more or less extensive and intensive preparation and planning. Thus the external conditions of the decision are of significance to the judgment of guilt above all when they have helped to inspire the decision itself, or when the delinquent's attitude toward them gives information about the intensity of his desire to commit the crime.

Thus, the influence of certain external conditions on the decision to commit the offense is not automatically given by the presence of this or that external situation; rather, this influence depends on the actual effect of these conditions on the decision. These external conditions can include those but for the knowledge of which the offender possibly would not have thought of committing a crime at all. If these sorts of "encouraging" conditions had a demonstrable influence on the materialization of the decision to commit a crime, in our opinion it is possible to speak here of relatively less guilt, as distinguished

from the decision to commit a criminal act where this decision has resulted directly from socially negative attitudes. However, in each individual case the actual influence of the established external conditions on the decision to commit a crime should be investigated. Even in those cases where external conditions were likely to handicap a juvenile's decision-making ability, it is necessary to verify their influence on his ability and readiness to make the socially appropriate decision.

Establishing the Motives for the Act

For purposes of elucidating the circumstances surrounding the decision to commit an offense, the motive for the crime plays a certain key role. Although as a rule it cannot be the decisive explanation, it can be a primary explanation of the crime. In determining the motives, it should always be kept in mind that expressed motives are always subject to social evaluations. Therefore it is understandable when offenders give voice as much as possible only to such motives as induce the formation of positive opinions about them among their fellow men. But often these motives cannot be accurately established, especially since not a few offenders are by no means aware of their motives for the crime. Despite the limited informative value (for the degree of guilt) of expressed motives, it is important and necessary to probe into them, because they show the way toward the further determination of the offender's personality.

For many young offenders it is typical that initially a socially positive motive formed the basis for their criminal acts (for example, a technical interest, a spirit of adventure, not wanting to be seen as a coward, and so forth. Wanting to smoke and drink alcohol oneself--although it is not to be approved of for young people--cannot be viewed as a socially objectionable desire per se).

For a careful assessment of the offense, for judging the degree of the guilt, and for arriving at the suitable response to the offense, it is therefore above all important to clarify why a desire which is positive in itself or at least is not necessarily objectionable was realized in a way which cannot be countenanced. Discovering the reasons for choosing the unlawful way often leads to the finding, upon closer examination, that the wrong way (crime) taken to reach a certain goal was chosen in many cases from thoughtlessness, carelessness, or even from a lack of an ability to reason or a lack of an ability for disciplined behavior, and thus that certain weaknesses in the offender's sense of responsibility were determinative.[3]

Consequently, the guilt of a juvenile is all the greater the more these subjective occasions have had an influence on the motivation for taking the wrong way. However, this guilt can be less in the same proportion that objective, external circumstances (negative family relationships,

the harmful influence of other persons, and so forth) have had more of an effect. Thus what must be examined is the reciprocal relationship between external and internal occasions.

Since the motives give only limited information about the actual occasions and conditions involved in the decision to commit an offense, and since moreover it would be wrong to view them as a straightforward and adequate expression of the social position of the personality, of its attitudes, convictions, and so forth, they can be only a starting point for necessary further investigations.

Investigation of Attitudes

The offender makes his choice of means within the concrete act situation on the basis of certain attitudes. But attitudes can be inferred exclusively from behavior patterns and from utterances. In this connection, it must always be kept in mind that, generally speaking, relatively rigidified and generalized attitudes can be deduced only from regularly recurring behavior patterns. As a rule a particular act, even when it is a crime, does not permit one to establish a certain attitude by itself alone. Thus, from the fact alone that a delinquent has committed, for example, an offense against property, it would be impermissible to infer a negative attutude toward property or even toward productive work in general.[4] An unwarranted disparaging of his attitudes (due to an erroneous inference) can cause him to go further astray, especially if he is a very young person who still has little experience in social life and is still not very firm in his convictions and attitudes.

Moreover, it must be kept in mind that external behavior patterns do not always reflect corresponding attitudes. Therefore in general an important task for the purpose of establishing criminal liability in the criminal proceedings surely consists in investigating whether and to what extent the offense is an expression of the personality, of its basic views, convictions, and attitudes, or whether the offense is to be judged as being alien to the personality.[5] Among young people, a discrepancy between more or less solidified positive attitudes intrinsically present and the actual behavior in the school, the enterprise, or in social life can be found rather frequently. Among other things, this is connected with the fact that transitions from the school to the apprenticeship and to the vocation are associated with alterations in the life of juveniles, and these demand of them that they familiarize themselves with new social requirements in each case, that they get their bearings in a new group of people, and that they learn specific behavior patterns in a new situation.

Sometimes the offense of a juvenile arises from the fact that he is loafing from school, the apprenticeship, or the job, and because of that he has much free time, but he has little idea of what to do with this spare time. But from such behavior--which is only temporary or

restricted--one cannot mechanically infer that there is a bad attitude to learning or to work in general. Rather, one must seek out the concrete reasons for this behavior. Thus, for example, it may happen to an apprentice, for a great variety of reasons, that he was not able to choose his desired occupation, or that he had wrong ideas about his occupation, and thus he has developed an aversion to this particular activity. Occasionally it happens that he then tries to force a dissolution of this apprenticeship relation by being absent from work. In other cases, the juvenile does the productive work with great pleasure and with good to very good results, but he has little interest in learning in vocational school, because he has not understood the significance of this aspect of training. This can lead to the point where he begins to stay away from vocational school, and finally--out of worry about conflicts--from the job as well. With these juveniles it can be observed that their zeal for learning has fallen off in the eighth and ninth grades especially.

With entry into vocational life, a conflict can arise also whenever it has not been made clear enough to a young person that our ideals have been realized and can be realized only in the struggle, in our work. Thus such a juvenile senses a breach between the previously learned material and the actual problems in the enterprise. If he is not helped promptly to mentally assimilate this contradiction in the correct way, it can come to the point where he feels let down even by a self-chosen and desired job, and he then seeks individualistic-willful ways to extricate himself from this situation.

Often, offenses against property by juveniles have their occasions in a still inadequate ability to regulate their desires in accordance with their financial means. Added to this is a still inadequately consolidated attitude with respect to the fact that the extent of the satisfaction of their desires can be determined only by their own work, by their own performance. In such cases, what we have is a deficient ability for self-discipline and for adjusting to the social necessities, and not so much a bad attitude toward certain areas of life in general. Not seldom, such cases are also those where a juvenile who has committed a property crime quite certainly thinks it right that the property of others is protected by the prohibition against stealing (thus he recognizes the norm), but he did not want to be regarded as a coward or an outsider in connection with a crime committed by a group. It is also important to keep this in mind above all for the sake of effectively developing the criminal proceedings in an educational direction and for purposes of the further educational process. Here, what will be of primary importance will not be to make the juvenile understand the objectionableness of the theft and its consequences (because in fact there is no uncertainty about this), but rather to work with him towards the formation of correct ideas of courage.[6]

Thus, not a few juvenile offenses result from conflicts which do not arise from fundamentally rigidified negative attitudes. Therefore in each individual case it is necessary to determine on a differentiated and individual basis--including a differentiated treatment of first offenders and recidivists--and to distinguish in the assessment of the criminal personality:

- from what conflict the offense arose or what conflict the juvenile wanted to solve with this deed;

- from what attitudes, views, and ideological positions he decided to choose the way of crime for solving the conflict;

- whether these socially negative attitudes were already dominant and determinative for the juvenile offender, or whether they had won the upper hand only temporarily;

- whether these attitudes were already so deeply ingrained (because of continually repeating socially-negative behavior patterns) that we must speak of an antisocially-directed personality;

- whether the juvenile alone had placed himself increasingly under a hostile ideological influence on such positions and had consciously reinforced his belief in them.

Outwardly similar act-events (for example, an act of thievery, destruction, or an act of violence) can have very different foundations in terms of their social ideological quality, and consequently they must be judged very differently.

These considerations indicate how important it is to not make the extent of the determined guilt and the occasions and conditions of the offense associated with it dependent solely on the objective, external gravity of the deed (damage done) or on the form of procedure, such as to the effect that with less serious offenses, less procedural work should be necessary than with grave crimes. Within the limits set by the criminal proceedings, the effort needed for determining occasions and conditions is decided above all by the peculiarities of the offender's personality as well as by the corresponding external determinants. Thus, with one offender a crime which is grave from the viewpoint of objective damage can be a negative deed which is absolutely alien to his personality, while with another offender a first offense of less gravity can already indicate the beginning of a faulty development, so that in the latter case not only should we respond to the act itself, but beyond the penal action proper it will possibly become necessary to effect special measures for correcting this personality.

Special peculiarities or problems in the personality development of the juvenile offender should be an occasion for giving special attention--

within the framework of Section 65, Paragraph 3 of the Penal Code--to these circumstances of the juvenile offender's personality, which make the act explicable to us. From this we can also arrive at conclusions pertaining to what should be the concrete objective of the criminal proceedings and what measures should be applied and how they can be elaborated in an educationally effective way.

FOOTNOTES

1. G. Sarge, "Some Thoughts on Court Practice in Connection With Juvenile Crimes," NEUE JUSTIZ, No 2, p 55.

2. See in this connection "Lehrbuch des Strafrechts" [Manual of Criminal Law], General Section, Berlin, 1978, pp 275 ff. and 443.

3. Comments similar to this are made by V. N. Kurdyavtsev ("Social-psychological Aspects of Antisocial Behavior," SOWJETWISSENSCHAFT, Sociological Papers, 1974, No 6, p 606).

4. But in the individual case, from a serious property crime or from a voluntary act of manslaughter one can also draw conclusions about the attitude of the criminal toward property or to the life of others.

5. This fundamental idea is a key statement in the Soviet monograph "The Personality of the Criminal," which was discussed in STAAT UND RECHT, 1976, No 11, p 1215 ff. (see especially p 1218)

6. See A. I. Dolgova, "The Criminological Significance of Investigating the Criminal Personality," SOVYETSKOYE GOSUDARSTVO I PRAVO, 1973, No 6, p 90 ff.

12114
CSO: 2300

BIOGRAPHIES OF NEW OFFICIALS PUBLISHED

Budapest NEPSZAVA in Hungarian 28 Jun 80 p 3

[Article: "Changes in the Government"]

[Text] Dr Lajos Faluvegi was born in 1924 at Matraderecske into a family of minor bureaucrats. He pursued his studies in Budapest and graduated from a commercial secondary school in 1943. Then he continued his education in law and accounting, and received a degree in economics. He has been employed in the financial apparatus ever since 1948. For a while he headed the Budapest Planning Section of the Ministry, and then during the period of the preparation and implementation of the economic reforms he directed the Chief Section on Economics and Budget. In 1968 he was appointed deputy minister, and then in 1971 minister of finance. He is a member of the State Planning Commission, the Committee on Science Policy and the Committee of International Economic Relations. In 1975 he was also elected a member of the Economic Policy Committee of the MSZMP Central Committee. For a considerable period he has participated in the college-level training of financial experts, and he contributed to this field also with his scholarly publications. He has been active in the workers' movement ever since 1947, and in 1962 he became a member of the MSZMP. In 1975 the Eleventh MSZMP Congress elected him to the membership of its Central Committee, while the Twelfth Congress confirmed him in this position. He has been awarded a number of decorations, including the Order of Socialist Hungary, the Order of Labor, Golden Class, and the Order of Socialist Labor.

Dr Istvan Hetenyi

Dr Istvan Hetenyi was born in Budapest in 1926 into a family of intellectuals. In 1948 he received a degree in economics at the School of Economic Sciences of the Technical University. In 1949 he became a clerk at the National Planning Office. For a protracted period he was involved in preparing the balance sheets of the national economy, as well as in developing the general methodology of planning. Later he concerned himself with problems of long-range planning and with the international coordination of the national economics plans. He became

respectively a section head, a chief section head, and then the deputy chairman of the National Planning Office. In 1973 he was appointed the state secretary of the Planning Office. He is a member of the Committee on Science Policy, as well as of the State Planning Commission. Since 1964 he has been the vice president of the Hungarian-Czechoslovak Joint Commission on Economic and Scientific Cooperation. He has the title of professor at the Karl Marx University of Economic Sciences. He participates in the activities of several scientific and educational economic associations. He is a member of the presidium of the Hungarian Economic Association. Since 1979 he has been the vice president of the Commission on Economic Sciences of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences. He has been a party member ever since 1951. His decorations include: the Labor of Merit Medal, the Socialist Labor Merit Medal, the Order of Labor, and the Order of Labor, Golden Class.

Dr Istvan Horvath

He was born in 1935 in Paks in the County of Tolna into a worker's family. He pursued his secondary education at the Attila Jozsef General Gymnasium in Budapest as a scholarship holder of the People's Republic. He obtained a degree at the School of Law and Political Sciences of the Lorand Eotvos University. During his years of secondary and higher education he was actively involved in the youth movement; for years as the secretary of his high school's local committee of the Federation of Working Youth, [FWY]; and at the university as the FWY's secretary, and later as the president of the scholarly association of the law students. Following his graduation he began his career as the law clerk of the Bacs-Kiskun County Council, from where he moved on to the country judiciary. In 1958 he was appointed as an advisory magistrate to the local district court. After 1959 he was employed by the Bacs-Kiskun County Party Committee as a political worker, and then as a section head. In 1968 he was elected secretary of the Bacs-Kiskun County MSZMP Committee. Between 1970 and 1973 he was the first secretary of the Central Committee of the Hungarian Communist Youth League, and since 1970 he has also been a member of the MSZMP Central Committee. In 1973 he became the first secretary of the Bacs-Kiskun County Party Committee. Between 1971 and 1975 he was a member of the Presidential Council, while also representing Borsod County in the Parliament. He was twice awarded the Order of Labor, Golden Class.

Jeno Vancsa

Jeno Vancsa was born in 1928 in Brasso. His father was a tailor, a minor artisan. In 1953 Jeno Vancsa obtained a degree at the Agricultural University of Godollo, and then in the early 1960's he was awarded a teacher's diploma in agricultural engineering. He also completed the Party's evening college. He was first employed as the director of a working unit at the State Farm in Kornye. In 1957 he became the chief agronomist of the Agard State Farm, and then in 1958 he was named the

director of this 9am state farm. Since August 1972 he has been employed as the Deputy Minister of Agriculture and Food Industry. He has augmented his expertise also in his capacity as the president of the National Agricultural Type-Classifying Council, and as a member of the National Technical Development Committee. Since 1973 he has been president of the Hungarian Agricultural Sciences Association. He is also actively involved in the Hungarian-Czechoslovak, Hungarian-Bulgarian, as well as the Hungarian-Romanian Joint Commission on Economic and Scientific Cooperation. From 1968 to 1975 he was active in the Hungarian Parliament as a representative of Fejer County. He has been a party member ever since 1954. In 1977 he was awarded the Order of Labor, Golden Class.

Dr Jeno Szilbereky

He was born in 1917 at Lugos into a family of intellectuals. He received his diploma at the School of Law and Political Sciences of the University of Szeged. As a young law graduate he was employed at the District Court of Tiszafured, and then at the Szeged District Court. In 1950 he became a chief clerk at the Ministry of Justice. In 1953 he participated in the establishment of the Chief Public Prosecutor's Office, where he became a group leader, and then a deputy chief section head. In 1962 he returned to the Ministry of Justice, and in the same year he was named the deputy minister of justice. Since 1978 he has been the state secretary at the ministry. In 1960 he received the degree of "Candidate of Law and Political Sciences," and in 1973 the degree of "Doctor of Sciences." Since 1960 he has also participated in the furthering of his discipline as a university professor, and he has authored several scholarly books on law. In 1968 he was elected president of the Association for the Protection of Hungarian Industrial Rights, and he is also an associate president of the National Legal Council of the Society for the Propagation of Scientific Knowledge. He is a founding member of the Public Employees Union, where in the course of the past years he has fulfilled various functions. He has been a party member since 1948, and has twice been awarded the Order of Labor, Golden Class.

9271
CSO: 2500

KOROM ADDRESSES FEDERATION ON STRENGTHENING LEGALITY

Budapest NEPSZABADSAG in Hungarian 19 Jun 80 p 5

[Report: "For the Development of State Life and the Strengthening of Legality--Dr Mihaly Korom's Address at the Hungarian Association of Jurists' Committee Meeting"]

[Text] The agenda of the extended Wednesday meeting of the Hungarian Association of Jurists' committee included the topics of further developing state life and jurisprudence, strengthening socialist democracy and the state, and further strengthening legality. The meeting was opened by Dr Gyorgy Antalffy, rector, and president of the Jurists' Association. Dr Mihaly Korom, member of the MSZMP's Political Committee and secretary of the Central Committee, was present and spoke at the meeting. Those present at the meeting also included Dr Imre Markoja, minister of Justice, Dr Odon Szakacs, president of the Supreme Court, Dr Karoly Szijarto, district attorney-general, and Dr Olga Prieszol, secretary general of the Trade Union of Government Employees.

Mihaly Korom stressed in his address that "the main direction of our state's further development may be designated as the strengthening of the power of the working class, the expansion of the state's role and the development of the democratic character of the state's function. Our entire legal life is inseparably connected to this." He emphasized that the increase in the efficiency of legal regulations is a condition for developing state work. The elimination of overregulation is an important task. It is well known that we have carried out in the past 10 years an extensive legal reform. In the course of this reform, numerous new laws have been made and several others have been updated. As a result of all this, the most important social and economic conditions and the citizens' fundamental rights and responsibilities are today being regulated by law. The further perfection of our socialist legal system is, however, a constant task. On the basis of congressional resolutions, the legislating activity must be concentrated primarily on further developing state life, updating and increasing the efficiency of the state's work and assistance for economic growth.

In connection with the further development of socialist democracy, Mihaly Korom pointed out that this increases the leaders' personal responsibility, while at the same time helping us to fight against the manifestations of power abuse. Power is abused, he said, also when someone does not use it, or does not use it properly when it is needed. Unpreparedness, indecisiveness and delaying measures are breeding grounds for abuse of power.

Speaking of socialist legality, he called attention to the fact that one of the cornerstones of legality is the stability, or the necessary dynamism, of the legal system. On the one hand, stability is needed, for neither the law-enforcement officials nor the citizens are able to become familiar with, and correctly apply, legal measures that are constantly changing. On the other hand, dynamism is also needed, because it would be an encroachment of legality if the legal system were to become overly inflexible and if legislation did not flexibly follow changes in the social and economic conditions. Therefore, we must always find the right proportions. However, in the present period of our development, stability must be emphasized, said Dr Mihaly Korom.

9414
CSO: 2500

NEW FUNCTIONS OF TRADE UNION STEWARDS CLARIFIED

Budapest TARSADALMI SZEMLE in Hungarian No 6, Jun 80 pp 14-26

[Article by Lajos Hethy, candidate, director of the Research Institute of Labor Affairs of the Ministry of Labor: "Trade Union Stewards' Organizations and Industrial Democracy"]

[Excerpts] In our society it has become increasingly well known during the past decade and a half that interest relationships--which we used to describe using the concept of the interests of individuals, groups, and society--are much more complex and less transparent than had been supposed, and the former provisions for organizations (including trade unions) to represent these interests are no longer capable of creating appropriate institutions to do so. This is so inasmuch as in factories and enterprises the interests appear most markedly among relationships at the level of individuals and groups--that is, the collective strivings of one or a few individuals--whereas the members of traditional VSZT's (enterprise trade union councils) were elected to represent the "general" interests of the workers of a particular factory or enterprise, and they were unable either to perceive or comprehend sufficiently the different, sometimes contradictory, interests of those who elected them. The members of the VSZT's found themselves faced with a task of impossible dimensions, which was only "counterbalanced" somewhat by the fact that, like their function in representing interests, their responsibility to their constituents was also "general." The trade unions' work of defending interests suffered because of all of this, and the resulting lack of defense of these interests was detrimental to the internal atmosphere in factories, to personal relationships, and to the connection between individuals and goals.

The changes up to now can be summarized as follows: Formerly, before 1976, the function of trade union stewards was to represent the interests of a small group of workers (15-20 people). Their activities were limited to participation in decisionmaking at the shop or factory level, with restricted rights (to express opinions and to monitor). Representation of interests beyond that, at the enterprise level with broader powers, was provided by the VSZT or by its executive organization, the enterprise trade union committee (VSZB). These latter committees were chosen independently of

the stewards. Development since then has had two factors. On the one hand, the functions of the trade union stewards have been expanded. They now appear as representatives not just of the interests of particular small collectives, but of wider masses, in decisionmaking beyond the level of the shop and the factory, because the organizations of stewards as a whole are taking over the functions of the enterprise trade union councils, which have now been discontinued, or of joint consultations. On the other hand, the former rights of the stewards have been supplemented, in that, without the stewards' approval, managers cannot make decisions on matters affecting material and moral incentives or working and living conditions of individual workers. In the new system, the enterprise trade union committee, which continues to be significant, is chosen by the stewards' organization.

The coming to the fore of trade union steward gives a better opportunity for the institutionalization of interests. The steward has a chance to evaluate the interests of his constituents (no matter what differences there may be within a particular group) and to work out and represent their common interests, and, for this reason, he has a concrete responsibility to his constituents. (It must not be forgotten that the steward does not just represent interests, but he also works to reconcile interests within the group. It is hardly to be expected that, within a group, interests will be identical on every single question, for example, the distribution of wage increases.)

Tensions in Interest Representation

The main function of a trade union steward is interest representation; he must represent, at the various levels of enterprise management and within the framework of democratic rights and forums, those kinds of interests which are not at all or are only partly perceptible to the party organization and which otherwise could not be or could only partly be brought to the surface, formulated, and represented.

We must see clearly: The trade union steward is performing his task well (and is serving well the higher-level interests--collective, enterprise, social), when he is fighting consistently for the realization of the particular interests of the individuals and groups he represents, starting where possible from the higher-level interests, but in some cases without regard to the higher-level interests formulated (declared) by management and also accepted by party organizations. For if we do not confront day by day the higher-level interests with the particular interests which we expect the higher-level interests to serve, then not only must we give up on cooperation, but also we are limiting our ability to formulate the higher-level interests. The claim that managers and even party organizations sometimes make against the trade union stewards, namely that they [the stewards] should accept their decisions uncritically, without reservation, and without contradiction, is understandable but in no way acceptable, even though those decisions--in their best judgment--are the direct embodiment of those higher-level interests. The essence of industrial democracy is not the ritual

approval of management decisions, but the working out of ways and means of cooperation in such a way that they can be accepted and carried out by everyone affected. This concept demands effective representation of particular interests by the stewards, and it does not question the significance of the role of enterprise management and party organizations in directing, controlling, and integrating interests, but in fact strengthens it.

In reconciling interests in a factory between trade unions and party organizations (within the framework of their close relationship as defined by the party's directing role) a rational division of labor is desirable. The enterprise trade union in its role--as a result of its function--must make sure that particular interests are discovered and represented, so that the party organizations will have for their efforts unambiguous points of reference in which elements of the representation and integration of higher-level interests must necessarily predominate. This of course does not mean that the activity of a trade union must be limited to particular interests (and likewise party organizations also represent particular interests), since the ultimate goal of stewards and stewards' organizations is the working out and realization of a generally acceptable higher-level interest. The trade union will approach this appropriately by fulfilling well its own functions, and it will be going along an incorrect track in its activity if it tries to simply adjust to the attitude of the party organizations.

When the new arrangement of enterprise trade union and industrial democracy begins to operate, we find ourselves faced with a number of problems of viewpoint--some old, some new. To what extent will the new stewards' organizations and the enterprise trade union committees elected by them be capable of overcoming that convenient labor attitude, often met within enterprises, which tries to substitute general references to higher-level--enterprise, society--interests (which are otherwise emotionally understandable and appealing) for discovering, formulating, and consistently representing the particular interests of the membership? Will the industrial party organizations be able to rise above the frequently felt (though with absolutely good intentions and good will) apprehensions, which see disuniting efforts in particular interests and the conflicts they bring with them, and which they think undermine the higher-level interests? And finally: To what extent are factory and enterprise managers capable of stepping away from the narrow industrial-economic viewpoint of the activities and productivity of factories and enterprises, which often neglects the fact that unity of action, reconciliation of interests, and consequently representation of interests by stewards, are indispensable conditions for effective management?

Reporting on the Work of Management

Following the 1977 decision of the cabinet and SZOT [National Council of Trade Unions], most misunderstanding was found not on joint consultations, but on the right based on which reports are given, in connection with the achievements of management, on the activities of the highest management of the enterprises. In most enterprises we visited the trade union leadership

would have liked to be relieved of this task, which--according to the leadership--belongs to the "board of directors," or in some cases a trust or a branch of a ministry, and they have been trying with great circumspection (sometimes with the cooperation of the party organizations) to find a method that would cause the least amount of tension in their relationship with the management and in which a joint statement of a group would eliminate the responsibility for expressing individual opinions.

The embarrassment over completing this assignment itself reveals that this new right strikes at the heart of factory and enterprise relationships. What is involved here?

Cooperative work within an enterprise, the division of labor connected with it, and the division of benefits arising from it--that is, reconciliation of interests--naturally creates a reciprocal dependency relationship between individual workers and groups of workers, between employees and management, among others. In order for combined efforts to return rewards to each in proportion to his contribution, or so that in this process there be no undeserving "winners" and "losers," the reciprocal relationships must be as balanced as possible. At the same time there is in reality a tendency in industrial relations for certain individuals and groups--sometimes workers, but usually managers--by virtue of the positions they occupy in the system organized for dividing the work--to obtain a decisive weight relative to the others, as a result of personal abilities, weakness in institutionalized defense of interests, or lack of industrial democracy.

One sign of this is, for example, that managers--as a result of their objective situation, independently of their own will--today are in a position of substantial control over the realization of the personal interests (such as material prosperity, advancement, etc.) of their employees, whereas as the latter have in practice very little possibility for such control, especially in regard to the highest managers, the superintendent and his assistants, who report to the board of directors. The right of the stewards' organizations, which includes the right to report on the work of the highest management, is an attempt to correct this situation. Since this right strikes directly at the interests of management--and numerous signs point to the fact that factory and enterprise trade unions organizations are reluctant to use it--it is highly probable that solutions in this area will be formal and superficial. Such solutions can be avoided only if the party organizations stand behind the stewards' organizations in this matter with their full political weight.

9611
CSO: 2500

'SLOWO POWSZECHNE' COMMENTARY ON RECENT NATO SESSION

Warsaw SLOWO POWSZECHNE in Polish 1 Jul 80 p 1

[Article by T.P.: "No Changes in the West"]

[Text] Looking through the communiques from recent years, on the subject of the semiannual NATO ministerial sessions, the repetitiousness of evaluations, postulates and decisions made is striking. The "threat" to the West from the "Soviet Union's progressive armament" is constantly stressed, tendencies of the Atlantic Pact states to increase the military budgets are recurring, and the indispensability of strengthening their military preparedness for "closing of the ranks" of the Western community is emphasized.

This time, not without foundation, the secretary general of NATO, Joseph Luns, revealed the "particular significance" of the summer session of the 15 foreign affairs ministers. For the circumstances which accompanied the deliberations which took place on 25 and 26 June are remarkable.

The NATO council convened after two "summits": of the chiefs of the EEC states and next, of the chiefs of the seven most industrialized countries of the Western world, who in June debated in Venice on the economic and political problems troubling them. Doubtlessly, both these meetings did not remain without an impact on the course of the Ankara deliberations.

The international situation which resulted in a characteristic split in the East-West relations is unique: the United States, by its recent moves, brought about serious tensions in the relations with the Soviet Union, and the West European countries, displaying formal support for their overseas ally, are trying to sustain what, after arduous manipulations and many years of negotiations, has been defined as "detente."

It is this clash between Washington's "hard" policy and the well thought out policies of the West European governments that has led to an arrhythmia of attitudes within the Atlantic Pact, which Western commentators describe as "the most tangled up since the establishment of NATO." To be sure, discords between the United States and the European

pact states occurred repeatedly during the years of the existence of the alliance and with different levels of intensity--presently, however, they concern a matter of the highest rank: detente--to be or not to be.

In such an "untypical" atmosphere, the NATO foreign policy representatives strived in Ankara to coordinate positions and find formulas which would be acceptable to all the participants at the deliberations and the final communique summarizing these deliberations. This communique did not, however, display any fundamental departure from the established pattern characteristic of similar documents from previous years: it repeats the same basic theses which we mentioned at the beginning of the article. This proves that the American foreign policy line dominated over the Western European one.

The fundamental subject of the deliberations in Ankara were, of course, East-West relations, examined, however, mainly in the context of the presence of the Soviet troops in Afghanistan; the withdrawal of a portion of Soviet units in this degree did not have an impact on a change in the anti-Soviet attitude of the West. It was also emphasized that the NATO states are intent on implementing a decision concerning the deployment of the new American nuclear missiles in Europe, and also on maintaining "deterrent" on an "appropriate" level.

Basically, NATO ministerial sessions do not shape policy and they do not formulate doctrines. This area is traditionally reserved for the "summit" conferences in which the leaders of the NATO states participate. Nevertheless, discussions of the political and military ministers provide an opportunity to evaluate the current tendencies in the pact's global activities and to get oriented in the climate of foreign and military policy which the West intends to implement during the half year period separating the session which just took place and the next one.

It must be said that this climate does not foretell a quick return to the status of 2 years ago when the tendencies toward detente clearly dominated over the animosities in the East-West relations. Such is the final conclusion from the NATO Ministerial Council session which took place in Ankara.

CSO: 2600

ECHOES FROM RECENT LITERARY GROUP MEETING NOTED

Another View of ZLP Meeting

London DZIENNIK POLSKI in Polish 5 Jul 80 p 12

[Article by Andrzej J. Chilecki: "Writers Score Big Goal at Party's Expense"]

[Text] The meetings of the Warsaw Branch of the Polish Writers Union are a long-standing tradition. The members of this branch account for about half of the total membership of the Polish Writers Union (700 members) and they constitute one of the very few and perhaps the only official organization in which the competing forces are more or less evenly matched. This means that the ruling faction does not have very much to say, since its members are outnumbered by a big majority of non-party members, among whom there is a sufficiently large number of courageous and truthful people; moreover, some of the party members in the ZLP are tacit supporters of their theoretically ideological enemies," and this support becomes immediately apparent whenever secret ballots are cast. This also means that the representatives of the powers that be are the targets of a lot of harsh language in this forum, and when elections are held for delegates to the national congresses or even for officers to serve on the boards of branch organizations the puppets of the official authorities and their favorites usually fail utterly or are perceived to be marginal winners.

This is the way things have gone traditionally, and if the Polish ruling elite was any more sensible, it would have sent the party school graduates destined to attend meetings of the Warsaw branch of the ZLP to special training sessions; let them get a little experience in the conduct of genuine political life, and let them get some idea as to what they are really in for. And if Poland enjoyed at least a modicum of internal democracy, these people would be in big trouble. And so it was in keeping with this tradition that another meeting of the Warsaw branch of the ZLP took place on 5 May 1980, and it was at this meeting that a big goal was scored at the party's expense (many of the particulars of this meeting's proceedings are also recorded in an article published in the June 1980 issue of the Paris journal KULTURA). The spokesmen for the party line

were doomed to failure from the outset, and so at the very start of the meeting they resorted to a desparate blocking maneuver. Jerzy Jesionowski spoke at great length to those in attendance about the problems with the paper shortage, even though everyone was perfectly well aware of the fact that his remarks would change nothing and that future prospects in this regard were bleak. Namely, everybody knew that there is no paper to spare for books, that printing runs of worthwhile books are being scaled down to minimal levels, that publisher new title plans are cut back severely, and that there is no hint that things will be any better in the future. The speaker nevertheless managed to break up the hall with the statement that Poland is "engaged in a competitive race with capitalism in the production of consumer goods," even though it is otherwise doubtful that the people who have to spend hours standing in queues in Poland would have a sufficient sense of humor so as to resist responding to this observation in harsher terms. Another version of this party tactic was offered up by Stefan Bratkowski, a self-avowed reformer and one of the members of the illfated organization "experience and the Future" [Doswiadczenie i przyslosc] which has been trying to look for ways to reform the system from within. Bratkowski glibly demonstrated--in keeping with his standard routine--that if the new premier would take to heart the good advice of the economists, things would get better. But on this score too everybody has known for years that all of the good ideas put forward by Polish economists are downplayed by the "two Edwards" [i.e., Edward Gierek and Edward Babiuch], that they always make a bigger and bigger mess of things, and that nothing is gained by the rush to gloat over the shortcomings of Jaroszewicz (notabene: Warsaw has been rife with a series of witty barbs in response to the change of premiers, and among these the following epigram would seem to be a most fitting expression of real public opinion: "Even with two Eddies it won't go anywhere."

And with this the party orchestrated overture to these proceedings came to an end, and from then on the hall was dominated without exception by writers belonging to the democratic opposition. They set the tone for this meeting right up to its very end. Speakers expressing other opinions were regarded as mere embellishments to the proceedings, and on the occasions when these speakers took the floor the audience exited en masse to the corridors for a cigarette and small talk. In the conference room, however, most of the speeches were about Miroslaw Chojecki, and he was the principal hero of this meeting. The high point of the meeting involved the collection of writers' signatures on a petition concerning the case of the imprisoned head of NOWA [Independent Publishers Printshop] jokingly referred to as the "Polish Hearst." Jerzy Ficowski read a letter from the executive board of the ZLP containing an appeal for intervention on Chojecki's behalf, and he also read out the names of the persons who signed the letter, which at that point in time amounted to more than 100. And the signers of this letter included some of the most prominent figures in contemporary Polish literature. Marian Brandys gave a fine speech

underscoring the services rendered by Chojecki on behalf of Poland's officially sanctioned cultural establishment and in particular on behalf of its professional writers and presenting a biographical sketch of this persecuted publisher. With his characteristics verve and wit Stefan Kisielewski gave an account of the accomplishments of the independent press and publishing industry, observing that they are a source of optimism and that they exemplify the kinds of "socially committed attitudes" which the authorities are otherwise so interested in fostering. Jacek Kuroń described the origins and achievements of our most important organ of independent opinion, the quarterly ZAPIS, and enumerated the names of its authors and collaborators. And this really was an impressive list. Naturally, Chojecki's name was brought up again and again in all of these speeches. The writers Anka Kowalska and Jan Józef Lipski, members of the KSS-KNOR, also talked about Chojecki.

If anyone attending this meeting entertained any doubts about this basic issue, they must have been dispelled, as was clearly borne out by the very animated and, as far as the independent speakers were concerned, sympathetic response of the audience.

And what about the other side of this question? This point of view was represented by the secretary of the ZLP party organization, the publisher and journalist Andrzej Wasilewski. This was no easy task, but this does not mean that he is deserving of our sympathy. It should be noted, however, that in similar situations in the past that master demagogue, Jerzy Putrament, fared much better. Wasilewski confined himself to uttering crude threats, i.e., the government was going to withold allocations for the funding of the unruly ZLP and opposition writers are the black sheep of the ZLP. The only thing that can be said in Wasilewski's defense is that he clearly spelled out his role as a "messenger," as a spokesman for the views of higher authorities. He did not have anything at all to say about the Chojecki issue. This clumsy presentation of the party's case, including in particular the suggestion that there are such things as "good" and "bad" writers, elicited an expected response. Krzysztof Wolicki and Andrzej Drawicz took strong issue with the remarks of the party spokesman; the latter paid Wasilewski back by promising that writers and Marxists would enjoy equal rights in the future ZLP of a free Poland, and the audience reacted to this retort with applause. This comment was probably received with a sense of relief on the part of some party-member writers, namely, those who at a meeting held earlier had launched a very strong attack against the official policy in this area and went so far as to cite the Chojecki case as an example of the senselessness of this policy. This meeting too was held in an atmosphere of extreme turbulence. The participants in this meeting voted in favor of a resolution declaring that the opposition is morally in the right on all issues and that everyone, party members included, is an avid reader of their publications. But party discipline is party discipline. So at the general meeting of the ZLP the party comrades kept their mouths shut, apart from the speeches mentioned above.

All of these proceedings dragged on for a long time and they were wrapped up late at night with the opposition forces claiming complete victory, concerning which news, it is said, the spokesmen for party interests immediately ran off to engage in anxious consultations with their bosses in the Central Committee. The outcome of this meeting suggests that these people will not have an easy time of it at next year's ZLP Congress, during which some very important issues will be on the agenda, including above all the election of a new president. On the other hand, a couple of days later a delegation representing the executive board of the ZLP actually did send a letter to the office of the Prosecutor General demanding Chojecki's release, and, as everybody knows, Chojecki was released shortly thereafter as a result of the coordinated efforts of various groups in this country (students, professors, architects, filmmakers, writers) and abroad.

And so all of this amounted to something more than just idle talk. And once again it was shown to be true that it is both necessary and worthwhile to put pressure on the government.*

In the meantime life has added an amusing footnote to this story, but nobody knows whether or not this will be the last word. Namely, when the authorities are under pressure they always start looking desparately for ways to save face. Accordingly, the press agency Interpress issued an official report to foreign journalists (on 11 May 1980) stating that the Chojecki case had been thrown out "at the personal request of Comrade Gierek," supposedly in response to a perconal appeal lodged by Chojecki's mother (this latter circumstance was a total fabrication). But shortly after his release Chojecki was called in by the prosecutor and told a new investigation was in store for him under new charges dealing with the same case. Namely, he would be charged with "incitement to criminal activity." As everyone knows, this case was tried on 12 June 1980, and Chojecki received a suspended prison sentence of one and a half years.

And so Comrade Gierek was officially rebuked. Consequently, we have to ask ourselves the following questions: who is really running the government in the PRL, who is plotting against whom in the party-state bureaucracy, and whose statements are we to believe?

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*All Wlodzimierz Sokorski had to say about this in an article published in ZYCIE LITERACKIE (issue for 1 June 1980) was that, "on some occasions straightforward, man-to-man talk can also do some good," but "the ZLP reporting meeting held in early May produced fewer sensations that might have been expected." He could not get away with saying anything more. Once again the censors pulled down a curtain of silence. There were to be no reports, articles or feuilletons about any of this. Even the party agitprop people were ordered not to discuss these matters in public, since the party had obviously concluded that this was a lost cause.

Literary Activities Noted

Warsaw ZYCIE LITERACKIE in Polish No 22, 1 Jun 80 p 20

[Article by Wlodzimierz Sokorski: "What's new in Warsaw?"]

[Text] Fifteen years ago, on 19 May 1965, Maria Dabrowska died in Komorow near Warsaw. At her former residence in Polna the Warsaw municipal authorities have set up a museum as a cultural center for the capital and restored the original antique character of the apartment building in which it is located. Her villa in Komorow has already been turned into a museum. Jerzy Antczak's film has reacquainted the general public with the works of Dabrowska. Tadeusz Drewnowski's book about pani Maria, excerpts of which were published in MIESIECZNIK LITERACKI, is one of the most comprehensive scholarly studies ever written about the works of this great writer. "Noce i dnie" [Nights and Days], on which she worked for 8 years with the first volume appearing in 1932 and the last in 1934, is still regarded as her greatest work. She was awarded the national first prize for literature in 1955. In 1956 she received an honorary doctoral degree from Warsaw University. These matters are worth remembering at a time, such as now, when we are writing reports about the situation of the Polish booktrade, which put on a pretty good show at the Warsaw International Book Fair, even though Dabrowska's works were nowhere to be found in the publisher booths at the fair held during the Booktrade and Press Days. Her works were more readily available at the stands set up along the corridors adjacent to the pavillions, i.e., at the so-called book "bazaar."

Jerzy Krzyszton's two-volume novel "Obled" [Madness] was a major literary event at the fair, but it was sold out overnight, faster even than "Sztuka kochania," [The Art of Love], the price of which went as high as 1,500 zlotys on the private market. My personal choice was a prewar edition of a work by Van de Veld, but I enjoyed my personal experiences at the fair most of all. On the other hand, Krzyszton's "Obled" really is an excellent book, and it is a great shame that not many people will be able to read it. A set of Jan Kochanowski's works [sixteenth-century Polish poet] (published by PIW) was sold out just as quickly. Even if this is an example of snobbism at work, then this is the kind of snobbism we ought to appreciate. An equally long line formed around the stand at which Halina Auderska was autographing her books. I was sitting next to her, and I also took advantage of the oppo-tunity to inscribe my name in some of my own literary offerings. Competing against us at the "Czytelnik" [publisher] stand were Jerzy Putrament and the charming Mrs Nurowska, representing the younger generation of writers. In Poland people like to buy books for their grandchildren who do not even know how to read yet. Nor do they read much when they get older, but they always wind up coming into contact with some work of literature, certainly

whenever the radio or television is "on the blink." And as a result the "mind of the nation" keeps on working in its stubborn fashion, though not without running into some problems. Under these circumstances we should not be surprised that expressions of gratitude were offered up even to the Board of the Warsaw Branch of the Polish Writers Union at its reporting meeting held in early May, a meeting which produced fewer sensations than might have been expected. On some occasions straightforward, man-to-man talk can also do some good. It is to be expected that the government will arrive at some proper decisions concerning the proposals made in the "booktrade report" which was published in LITERATURA on the occasion of the Party Congress.

Under circumstances in which hopes are being realized grudgingly, or at least at the expense of much stubborn effort, there are certain key issues of Poland's cultural life that have to be the subjects of constant debate. Cost-cutting measures are necessary, but in this area they must be carried out with moderation.

MIESIECZNIK LITERACKI has finished tallying up the scores for the "Tournament of Reporters" contest, but in a special communique on the outcome of this contest we will learn in particular that the results are extraordinarily interesting and involve reporters from all over the country and from all of the more prominent local papers. Bialystok made the strongest showing in this "Tournament," but this is still a mystery to Klemens Krzyzagorski who wound up wirking for MIESIECZNIK LITERACKI without losing toubh either with Bialystok or Lomze, the town of my childhood and the object of my unconcealed affections. This is an eternally youthful city, and it is no wonder that Lomze was recently the scene of a confrontation between art school students.

This youthful invasion of Lomze was not devoid of some amusing incidents. The students stopped people on the street and took them along to their shows and exhibitions without having to buy tickets or get all dressed up in their Sunday best. In the ceramic furnaces that were specially erected for this occasion there was an endless display of glowing multicolored chips, masterfully fired bowls, cups, goblets and even a symbolic "chastity belt," except there was not anybody around who could wear it. The girls of Lomze have long since ceased to be bound by tradition. They work, go to school, and sometimes get married, but they are not the least bit concerned about their virginity. There was no other choice. I just had to take home that symbolic "chastity belt" for my private museum.

I cannot close my letter from Warsaw with stories about what is going on in Lomze, and so I would like to remind everyone of the 110th anniversary of the founding of the Printers Trade Union. This is a highly respected profession, upon which we all depend, with fine traditions going back to the hard years of the partitions and the occupation, in addition to traditions developed during periods when the nation was free. So let us take this opportunity to offer them our best wishes in the belief that better times are also in store for Poland's printers.

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CSO: 2600

PRO-NATALIST POLICY EMPHASIZED BY CEAUSESCU, WOMEN'S MAGAZINE

Attack on 'Unjustified Abortions'

Bucharest SCINTEIA in Romanian 15 Jun 80 p 1

[Article: "Session of the Political Executive Committee of the Central Committee of the Romanian Communist Party"]

[Excerpts] On 14 June, there was a session of the Political Executive Committee of the RCP Central Committee, under the chairmanship of Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu, secretary general of the Romanian Communist Party.

The Political Executive Committee discussed the report of the National Commission on Demography and indicated that measures should be taken to improve the activity of the Ministry of Health, of medical and health units and of medical personnel with a view to assuring conditions of hygiene and combating illnesses, for the protection of the health of the people. It is necessary that unjustified abortions, which affect the health of women and which have a negative influence on the rise in the birth rate, be resolutely eliminated. Also, emphasis was placed on the need to intensify the health education activity of the population, especially of the youth and to develop the awareness of the need for the increasingly rapid and strong growth of the population, reinforcing in this way the strength of our socialist nation.

Emigre Press Cites Abortion Figures

Paris BULETIN DE INFORMATIE PENTRU ROMANI IN EXIL in Romanian 1 Jul 80 pp 2-3

[Text] Ceausescu, in the session of the Political Executive Committee of the Central Committee of the Romanian Communist Party held on 14 June, called for abortions, which affect the health of women and have a negative influence on the rise in the birth rate, to be eliminated with resolution. This decision was made because in recent years, young women have been resorting to abortions because there is no suitable housing and not enough money for raising children. A communist statistic presented by

Ceausescu reveals that in 1979 there were about 40,000 abortions in the Socialist Republic of Romania.

'FEMEIA' Echoes Ceausescu's Ideas

[Editorial Report] The July issue of FEMEIA, in Romanian, the review of the National Council of Women, page 23, contains an article by lecturer Dr I. Lemnete entitled "Abortion, Life and a Woman's Health," relating the story of a 21-year-old woman who died after an abortion "despite 2 days of super-human efforts to save her life." The writer says: "The saving of a life requires the administration of medication in intensive therapy, with expenses of more than 100,000 lei for each case. This is money which the state could use for other health needs of the population."

The same issue of FEMEIA, on page 15, publishes an article by Sanda Faur entitled "Without Children, a House Is Like a Deserted Railroad Station," telling about a young couple, Nuti and Petrica. "After 5 years of marriage, everything is going their way: a new and spacious apartment, furnished tastefully, with everything necessary and, Petrica's big dream--a 'Dacia'-1300 car. But the most important thing is the two children." Petrica tells the reporter that he and Nuti intend to have more children because "without children, a house is like a deserted railroad station."

CSO: 2700

'MIRACLE' OF ROMANIAN JEWS DISCUSSED BY RABBI ROSEN

Bucharest REVISTA CULTULUI MOZAIC in Romanian 1 Jul 80 p 1

[Article by Chief Rabbi Dr Moses Rosen, president of the Federation of Jewish Communities in Romania, Preface to the book "Comunitati Evreisti din Romania" (Jewish Communities in Romania), Bucharest, June 1980: "How Is It Possible"]

[Text] There are about 34,000 Jews in Romania. Less than 5 percent of the more than 800,000 Jews before the Holocaust.

This brochure presents data which no one can dispute. Religious, cultural and social service establishments in perfect operating condition. Jewish religious and cultural education; after 600 years of existence of Judaism in Romania, the 5 percent are establishing the first museum for the history of these communities, a museum which arouses the admiration of all. Thousands of elderly Jews have good living conditions, with respect for human dignity. We have kosher restaurants, homes for the aged, care at home, etc. No Jew in Romania can say that he does not have a minimum subsistence. They come from everywhere to see the "miracle." The prime minister of Israel comes, the chief rabbis of the large communities in the world come, outstanding persons from Israel and the Diaspora come, thousands and thousands of Jews come to see for themselves that in Socialist Romania, Jews have such living conditions.

At the same time, in the past 32 years, about 350,000 Jews from Romania have settled in Israel, with the wise approval of the Romanian Government. They are good Israeli patriots and, at the same time, they are animated with love and gratitude for their motherland, whose language they speak and whose culture they have adopted.

With such a record and with such realities, we are proud to say that if 32 years ago there was a question as to whether the relations of good collaboration and loyalty between our community and the socialist state were the most suitable method, today there can no longer be any talk about discussing this. The facts speak for themselves. Looking back at the achievements, all those who questioned whether the road which we chose was the most suitable remain silent.

What is the explanation of this "miracle"? How is it possible that in a communist country, whose leaders are atheists, personalities whose conception of life--the materialist conception--is opposed to the religious--idealist--conception, there can exist such relations and such a situation? How is it possible that the remnants of the Jewish community in Romania, 60 percent of whom are over 60 years of age, would be able to maintain and to give a new impetus to Jewish religious and cultural life?

Here is the answer:

We have been able to do everything not in opposition to but with the agreement of the leaders of this country. Many more ideals unite us with them than separate us from them. Instead of making our interests clash, we have been able to make them harmonize. Therefore, no one can dispute the fact that today, in Socialist Romania, to be a good Jew, with love for the Torah, for Zion, and for Judaism, not only does not contradict but even combines with a devoted, loyal and consistent patriotism toward our dear country, Romania, which gives us the opportunity to be Jews, which has saved our lives from the fascist wrath, which has restored our human dignity.

In Socialist Romania we Jews, just like the other national and religious minorities, have two rights: that of being equal to the others and that of being different from the others. This means, on the one hand, full civil equality, no national, racial, or religious discrimination and, at the same time, the cultivation of its own specific traditions, language and culture, and a dignified identification as Jews, without fear and without shame.

At the same time and as a result of the climate created, we enjoy the support of our brothers in the United States which is demonstrated by the assistance of the Joint [Distribution Committee.]

However, we must stress that this assistance is given only to the aged, the poor and the sick, victims of the Holocaust or to those whose children cannot help them.

The other large budgetary expenses: religious expenditures (120 synagogues, cemeteries, ritual baths, etc.) and expenditures for Jewish culture (Talmud Torah courses, the newspaper, the calendar, publications, etc.) are covered by our own funds.

We are smaller and smaller and our institutions are larger and larger. It is the result of a policy which combines patriotism, dignity, Jewish awareness, love of Israel, honor and honesty, devotion to one's neighbor in distress, brotherhood with the world Jewish organizations and large communities.

"Whoever studies Jewish history and does not believe in miracles is not a realist," Ben Gurion said.

Our realities are miracles. Let us continue to create them and the Almighty, who has helped us so far, the Architect of miracles and we, who with our thoughts, feelings, and deeds, are working to become sharers in these miracles, will carry on "Die goldene Kett" ("Lantul de aur" [The Golden Chain]) of Judaism in Romania.

CSO: 2700

BRIEFS

PRESIDENTIAL APPOINTMENTS--The president of the Socialist Republic of Romania decrees that Comrade Ion Stoichici is relieved of his position as deputy chairman of the State Planning Commission and appointed deputy minister of labor. Comrade Anton Andronic is relieved of his position as deputy minister of labor. Comrade Georgeta Mecu is appointed deputy minister of labor. [Excerpts] [Bucharest BULETINUL OFICIAL in Romanian Part I, No 50, 21 Jun 80 p 2]

CSO: 2700

POLEMIC AIRED OVER ALBANIAN BOOK URGING CREATIVE FREEDOM

Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 17 Jul 80 p 19

[Article by Murteza Daci]

[Excerpt] There has been a very lively discussion recently among the intelligentsia in Kosovo, particularly the cultural workers, about the latest book by Redzep Cosje [Albanian, Qosje], "The Morphology of a Campaign" (Morfologija jedne kampanje) (over 340 pages), which was published in 2,000 copies in February and sold out immediately at the quite high price of 120 dinars a copy.

Why was the book bought up, and what does it contain that caused it to become a best-seller and the subject of discussion among the young Kosovo intelligentsia?

For several years a polemic has been waged between Cosje and intellectuals who do not think as he does regarding a "quality" and "non-quality" writer, critic, or scholarly worker and his work. Of course, as in other places in the country in similar circumstances, opinions are divided.

However, after publication of "The Morphology of a Campaign," open division arose between cultural workers and general intellectual workers. While some support Cosje's views and think it is good that one say openly what is of value and what is not, others (the majority) completely refute his thesis and think that Cosje with this "pamphlet" pushes into the background everything of value that has been created up to now.

On almost 4 full pages of the daily paper RILINDJA (in two Saturday issues), Prof Dr Fehmi Agani rejects Cosje's views and opinions and calls his "scholarly work" a common pamphlet and falsification of the facts. In the cultural, art, and literary publication FJALA, Fadilj Bujari, editor of RILINDJA, in a severe tone but not with the banal vocabulary used by Cosje in his book, answers the author and those who think as he does in errors and untruths.

This largely pertains to Cosje's assertion that there is no real freedom of creativity, that scholarship and culture are in the hands of a narrow group of "laymen," that privatization exists in culture, and that scholarly work and creativity of Cosje's scope are not valued in general.

Agani and Bujari are of the opposite opinion.... But the question is symptomatic as to why Cosje's book was published outside Kosovo when it is known that such [printing] services are considerably cheaper in Kosovo than anywhere in the country; this is all the more questionable because everything this author has written up to now has been in Albanian, from ordinary articles to essays, critiques, dramas, and anthologies, i.e. a whole opus printed in the "Rilindja" publishing house. [But] "The Morphology of a Campaign" was given to the "Slobodan Jovic" printing firm in Belgrade. The author admits that he feared it would be impossible for him to have his book printed when its contents became known.

The critics, Agani and Bujari, say something else; namely, that Cosje could not find anyone to review his book among his closest friends. He finally had to engage two of his assistants and print the book under the name of the Albanology Institute of which Cosje is director. Later, however, Cosje requested that the SIZ [self-management interest community] for scholarly work acknowledge the costs of printing the book as a scholarly work. But the SIZ did not agree that this was a scholarly work which should be financed by [its] funds.

Without needing to be polemical, we must say that some untruths were expressed in the book, especially in regard to creative freedom, particularly after the 4th Brioni plenum ("from which we expected so much," Cosje says). But let us recall that in fact after the Brioni plenum the total development of Kosovo, especially culture and education, was really thriving.

Of course, social-political organizations will give their opinion about the real value of this book, because it is logical that in the polemics about the value or non-value of the book a specific political qualification must also be given. This is also expected, above all, by the communists in cultural institutions.

But this open dialog is proof of the democratic development of cultural relations in Kosovo, a sign of a higher level of consciousness among the people, especially the young Kosovo intelligentsia.

CSO: 2500

WESTERN REPORT ON SITUATION IN KOSOVO

Munich SUEDDEUTSCHE ZEITUNG in German 20 Jun 80 p 3

[Report by Heiko Flottau: "Difficulties with Albanian Minority"]

[Text] Pec, June--The elder is not really suspicious of these visitors who just dropped in one fine morning. He knows it has been raining for days and that his farm is hard to get to in such weather. In fact, a visitor has to park his car at the end of the gravel road and make his way onward on foot along marshy paths and across rough-hewn bridges without guard rails. Anyone willing to go to all this trouble must be quite enthusiastic about meeting with the elder.

The elder's full name is Nivokazi Sheh Hazor Fshati Nivokaz. He is a 65 year-old Albanian Moslem, the head of one of the last joint families still existing here in Kosovo, the Yugoslav region populated by Albanians. The family has almost 100 members. The main building on the farm is a Kula, one of many such structures in the region, which not only serve as shelter for those who live there but as fortifications against the Turks. The natural stone walls are dotted with embrasures. The patriarch's father fought the Turks a number of times. Sheh did not become head of the family because he was the oldest but because his father picked him from among the available men as the one best fitted to succeed him.

In the large main room of the Kula one sits on rugs with one's legs crossed. A wooden table is brought in. We are given goat cheese, steaming corn bread, freshly baked by the women, fresh cow's milk and Turkish coffee and grape brandy. In general, women are not allowed in the common room, except at night to watch television. Older adolescents may join their elders in the room at times, ...ust

rise when an older person enters who, for his part, bows to the others and crosses his arms on his chest.

Quite often, Sheh and the family council will assign the work to be done: which women are to bake bread and which women are to tend the pigs, the cows or the sheep. Sheh also decides how the available funds are to be used. Although the farm is almost 100 percent self-sufficient, they do have to go to Pec from time to time and sell their surplus, using the money to buy what they need. Whenever family members return home who are employed as foreign workers in West Berlin or in Switzerland they bring in foreign exchange, practically laying it at Sheh's feet as a gift and he also decides how this treasure trove is to be used.

Two or three times each year there is a wedding: a young girl marrying someone outside the family and leaving home or a young man bringing in a bride. But even on such occasions, everyone celebrates separately-- men, women and children each in a different room.And every couple belonging to the joint family has a room of its own.

Outside, next to the Kula in a large orchard, the family has built a mausoleum with an elaborately decorated cupola. The mausoleum contains the remains of eight family members and one small child. The coffins are decorated with rugs and home-woven shawls. Corn and fruit are brought as burial offerings from time to time.

There are not many joint families left. By now, this particular social system which imparts a sense of economic and psychological security to its members, which has stood the test of time through centuries of country life and was strengthened through resistance against the Turks is almost a thing of the past in Kosovo. Here too, its place is to be taken by modern industrial society. At the end of World War II, more than 90 percent of Kosovo's population was still engaged in agriculture; today it is a bit more than 50 percent. But industry has not created enough job opportunities so far. 40,000 Albanians from Kosovo have to go abroad as foreign workers and another 40,000 are working in other parts of Yugoslavia, such as in Slovenia. Sheh, the patriarch, rejoices every summer when all the members of the family gather at the homestead from as far away as Berlin and Switzerland. Even those who live abroad want to come back to work the land some day and to escape the inhospitable big cities.

But there is no way back for Kosovo. The Yugoslav federation considers the region a test case for the premise that all the peoples and minorities in Tito's new Yugoslavia really do enjoy equal rights. In Kosovo, a more difficult historic legacy must be overcome than among any other of the Yugoslav peoples. Only 2.2 million of the 3.5 million Albanians live in Albania itself; not quite one million live in Kosovo, another 300,000 in Macedonia and 40,000 in Montenegro. The way the frontiers were drawn is one of the typical Balkan anomalies. In the aftermath of the Balkan wars early this century, a series of ambassadors' conferences were held in London in 1912 and 1913 which awarded Kosovo to the Kingdom of Serbia. The then British foreign secretary, Sir Edward Grey, readily admitted that the conferences were not motivated by a desire to do justice to Albanian national goals but to satisfy big power interests. In 1918, Serbia, along with Kosovo, became a part of Yugoslavia and in 1945, Tito was not at all inclined to return Kosovo to his then comrade-in-arms Enver Hoxha.

An Economic Wasteland

Actually, Tito could not have done so without jeopardizing the very existence of his new state. Kosovo, after all, is the locale of some of the oldest monuments of medieval Serbia, such as the monasteries of Decani and Gracanica and the Patriarchs' Church in Pec. And, on the Kosovo-Polje, the blackbird field outside Pristina, the Serbs and Albanians were jointly defeated by the Turkish Sultan Murad in 1389.

Just as they did in their native land, the Osman rulers left an economic wasteland behind them in the Balkans. While Slovenia and Croatia, as parts of the Hapsburg empire, began to develop industrially along European lines, Kosovo retained its purely agricultural economy. And the Serbs, who were the dominant power in post-1918 Yugoslavia, had no intention whatever to supply development aid to Kosovo. It was forbidden to use Albanian as an official language; there were no Albanian schools; there were only 40 doctors in the whole region and 95 percent of the population remained illiterate. Anyone who attended school for 4 years was almost qualified to become a teacher. And when the Communists took power in 1945, a functionary now recalls, there was not a single paved road in the whole region.

Nor did Tito's Yugoslavia bother about Kosovo at first. Alexander Rankovic, a close associate of Tito's and chief of the secret police, felt that the solution of the "Albanian problem" in Kosovo lay in close surveillance and sporadic torture and killing of Albanians. It was not until the fall of Rankovic in 1966 that Kosovo could begin to breathe a little easier. As time went by, there was more and more support forthcoming for Albanian culture and the Albanian language. Albanians were given preferential treatment in the allocation of official positions-- an understandable practice after so many years of oppression and also in view of the fact that the 1970 census showed the Albanians to make up 73 percent of the population. In 1970, Pristina, the provincial capital, received a university which now numbers 35,000 students. Before 1945, there were only 15 students from Kosovo in all of Yugoslavia. The university is one of the very few in the world where all lectures are given in two languages-- Serbian and Albanian.

Compared to other member republics, in particular to Slovenia, Kosovo has remained backward, a fact to which the Yugoslav sociologist Branko Horvat called attention as long ago as 1969. Even if economic conditions were generally good, he said, Kosovo's growth rate would have to be twice as high as Slovenia for Kosovo to pull even. There are plans to create 8,000 new jobs annually, but when Minister President Djuranovic accompanied President Tito on his trip to Kosovo last fall he had to admit that only four new factories had been built since 1975. Average annual income in Kosovo still is three times lower than in the rest of Yugoslavia.

In spite of all the reverses, the economic and cultural efforts undertaken by the central government and the other member republics have led to substantial change in Kosovo. Support for the Albanians there has suddenly forced the Serbs to go on the defensive. A Kosovo expert in Belgrade says that the Serbs do not have a future in the Kosovo any longer and there are more and more of them leaving the region. This trend is reinforced by the almost explosive growth of the Albanian population. The Serbs fear that the next census figures will show the Albanians to comprise more than 80 percent of the population. What is more, the intensive development of the educational system has created a new cultural elite which largely keeps to itself.

The composer Rauf Dhomi has written the first Kosovo opera. It is a love story, but the underlying theme is the growth of Albanian national consciousness in the early 20th century. Musically, the work has gained recognition everywhere; but so far it has only been performed in the Albanian capital of Tirana because the opera house there was the only one that could put it on properly. The opera is due to be given in Pristina, but not until September. Another example: The painter Muslim Mulliai has long been working on Kosovo themes and has built a house and a large studio from the proceeds of his work. But, both he and the composer Dhomi are becoming increasingly aware of the fact that there is a real Albanian state on the other side of the border. The painter and the musician both speak officially of a single Albanian culture which cannot be separated by borders or political systems. But they know just the same that political separation can cause a culture to develop in different directions.

Important as economic and cultural assistance are, these measures are confronting the region with a dilemma. The Albanians now enjoy equal rights along with the other Yugoslav peoples; at the same time their national consciousness has thereby been strengthened. And there is another problem. In Kosovo, the Albanians enjoy all the rights; but elsewhere in Yugoslavia they are scornfully dismissed as "Shqipetars." The Albanians, who are not Slavs but trace their origins to the Illyrians, the original inhabitants of the Balkan peninsula, must often eke out a living as day laborers in Belgrade, Zagreb or Ljubljana. To be sure, none would care to live in Albania under the grim Enver Hoxha regime. But the hope remains that once Hoxha dies, his successors may bring more agreeable conditions about.

The rapid transition from an agricultural way of life to the industrial age, national emancipation and the discovery of their cultural identity have all helped create a mood among at least some Albanians which is conducive to nationalism. Officially, no party line communist official will admit this. The public was first informed of the existence of such problems by a journalist of the Belgrade newspaper POLITIKA. The paper recently carried an article telling of the arrest of 50 nationalists in Pristina who were said to have distributed subversive materials and to have called for union with Albania. In a subsequent trial, eight of the accused were sentenced to several years in prison.

There has always been evidence of nationalism in Kosovo. In 1976, 31 Albanians were sentenced to prison terms of up to 15 years in Pristina for nationalist activities; in 1968, there had even been an open revolt. And every time, Belgrade suspected a "foreign power" of having had a hand in it--that is to say, the Soviet Union. Albania is not instigating unrest because it can only live peacefully in isolation, if things stay quiet in the Balkans. According to Tirana, Enver Hoxha has no intentions of winning back Kosovo by the same "imperialist means" which the big powers employed years ago to take it away from Albania.

And so, things stay as they were after the ambassadors of the then big powers met in 1913 and after World War II. At that time, after the defeat of the Germans, Croat Josip Broz Tito let Albanian Enver Hoxha know that the Serbs were not yet ready to turn Kosovo over to Albania. But to underline Serbo-Albanian solidarity before the whole world, foreign visitors are taken from Pristina out to the blackbird field to Sultan Murad's mausoleum, who died there although victorious in battle. The tourist guide makes a point of the fact that Albanians and Serbs jointly fought the Turks at all times. But the guide fails to mention that the Albanians often followed these joint forays up by seeking out a new enemy-- more often than not the Serbs, their former allies.

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